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the free air of heaven. Woodlands and cornfields, mountains and valleys and torrents, sun, moon, and stars, were the poet's companions. Pope was a man of the study, of sickly frame and finical habits, unable to bear fatigue. He never harnessed a horse or pulled an oar. He knew nothing of the sea, except from books. He had never sailed over it, or bathed in it, or watched its multitudinous waves sweeping against a headland, or its changing colors under the morning or evening sky. With all his delicate genius, his sense of harmony, his command of polished versification, there was still a lack of several prime requisites in the translator of Homer, such as we have enumerated in our ideal of that still missing character.

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- ART. V. — 1. *Singularités Historiques et Littéraires*. Par B. HAURÉAU. Paris: Michel Lévy Frères. 1861. 12mo.
2. *Scot Erigène et la Philosophie Scholastique*. Par M. SAINT-RENÉ TAILLANDIER. Strasbourg et Paris. 8vo.
3. *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*. (Vol. IV. of Archbishop Usher's Complete Works. Dublin. 1847. 8vo.)
4. *Acta Sanctorum veteris et majoris Scotiæ, seu Hiberniæ Sanctorum Insulæ*. A. Joann. Colgan. Lovanii. 1645. Folio.

WE were ransacking a package of French books, just landed from the steamer, when we discovered, snugly ensconced under the posthumous works of poor Bordas-Demoulin, a small unpretending duodecimo bearing the initials of Barthelmy Hauréau. That name, so eminent in the annals of modern erudition, the cognomen of one whose learning is so deep and extensive that he has been called "the last of the Benedictines," was sufficient of itself to command our attention, to the exclusion of all the rest. Judging from the title and appearance, a casual observer would have decided the volume to be simply one of the many blue-covered novels, or light essays, which the Brothers Lévy are daily adding to their

library of current literature. A mere glance at the table of contents, however, would have soon convinced him that he held a collection of erudite monographs, such as in by-gone times the most noted scholars were wont to publish in France and Germany. Nor should we blame M. Hauréau—or rather his publishers—for thus innocently deluding the public. Our readers are aware that M. Hauréau has always been a stanch republican, who had made himself feared and admired as a political writer long before he entered the more peaceful walks of criticism and philosophy. After editing several democratic papers in Paris, and serving a term in the Constituent Assembly of 1848, he had relinquished politics for literature, and accepted an important office in the National Library, when Louis Bonaparte succeeded in overthrowing the republic. Though wholly dependent on his salary to support himself and family, M. Hauréau at once resigned it, rather than take the oath of allegiance to the perjurer who had destroyed the liberties of his country. He then betook himself to writing, translating the classics for Didot, popularizing historical subjects for Michel Lévy, and continuing in Latin for the world at large that magnificent hagiography, commenced by the Benedictines, and universally known as the *Gallia Christiana*. Authors as a rule are subjected to a kind of tyranny which claims at their hands a vast deal of abnegation and fortitude. They are not at liberty to follow their own inclinations, but must yield to the wants of the public and the dictates of booksellers. The startling title that will attract attention; the work containing requisite answers to the manifold questions daily propounded by the majority of readers; in fine, the book which may surely command a market and a fair price,—alone finds grace with publishers in general. M. Hauréau could not escape these dire necessities; and dire they certainly are to one who, after devoting years to original researches, investigating the greatest questions ever mooted by historical scholars, and attaining a degree of erudition which stands unrivalled, is compelled, as it were, to disguise himself, and deceive the public in order to have his works printed and read. Hence several volumes of his which appear side by side with those of George Sand and Münger.

We need not add, that his writings make a very strange figure in such mixed company, though losing nevertheless none of their importance and merit as works of great interest and unquestionable learning.

The book we were so glad to find in that long expected parcel, and which forms the subject of this article, bears the title of "Historical and Literary Singularities." The latter word must not be taken in its literal sense, although "Singularité" in modern French is perfectly synonymous with our English "Singularity," but in its obsolete acceptation; namely, that of monograph. The work, then, contains a series of essays, mostly devoted to historical characters of the Middle Age, imperfectly known and deserving to all appearance the obscurity which has so long surrounded their names, works, and history, Roscelin alone excepted. These monographs seem to have been compiled from a superabundance of notes taken by M. Hauréau, while preparing his celebrated prize essay on the Scholastic Philosophy. Notwithstanding their incontestable merit, we should probably not have called the attention of our readers to the volume which contains them, were it not for one devoted to a subject of interest to many of us, and treated in a manner novel and instructive. This favorite chapter treats of the Irish Schools of Philosophy and Literature, from the sixth century down to Scotus Erigena.

Strange as it may appear, in the sixth century there was a region of the Old World where a multitude of young Christians were taught to read and admire Homer and Virgil. As M. Hauréau justly remarks, this is probably the most important and curious fact to be found in the early history of European literature. Who were the first teachers of the Irish? Juvenal asserts that the Gauls transmitted to the Britons many precepts of rhetoric. It is probable that the Britons, in their turn, imparted them to the Scots.\* Besides, we have evidence of some young Scots who in early times frequented the best schools in Gaul, and diffused on their return home the treasures of learning and eloquence acquired on the Continent.

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\* In early times, Ireland, as well as Scotland, was known under the name of *Scotia*; and the inhabitants of both countries were called indiscriminately *Scots* or *Scuits*; meaning, the "wanderers" or "refugees."

We know that St. Patrick was a Gallo-Roman, educated in the monastery of Lerins; and it is equally certain that in the latter part of his life he intrusted a mission, wholly of a literary character, to his favorite disciple, Olcan. St. Olcan was to study under the great Gaulish doctors, gather the precepts of profane and sacred science, and, when he should return to the shores of Erin, open public schools, *publicas scholas*, for the especial benefit of Irish monks and bishops. This was in the middle of the fifth century, and although hordes of barbarians had frequently overrun the Gauls, laying waste everything before them, yet a few cities escaped their unholy devastations. Marseilles was then the most learned city in the Western world, the only one where Pope Celestin could find an interpreter to translate a letter written to him in Greek by Nestorius. Soon afterward, however, from the Rhine to the Pyrenees ignorance and barbarism wholly prevailed. Ireland alone, protected by the sea, remained free from foreign invasion, but became the scene of bloody feuds between rival princes. It was in the year 795 that the Danes first set foot on the shores of Hibernia. Thus, until the end of the eighth century, the stores of erudition collected in Gaul by the Scots escaped all damaging influence. While throughout the Roman world even the elements of Latin grammar were entirely forgotten, the schools of Ireland stood intact and flourishing; freely dispensing to numberless pupils, not only the rules of Latin poetry, but of Grecian eloquence and philosophy.

Ireland was the last refuge of letters. When British noblemen and clerks wished to shake off the yoke of ignorance, they crossed the strait, and were matriculated in the Irish schools. This is related by the Venerable Bede of Ægilvin, who afterward became Bishop of Lincoln. Alfred, King of the Northumbrians, once undertook a similar pilgrimage. To become learned was his earnest wish, and Ireland seems to have been the only country in which he could acquire the requisite knowledge and wisdom. By a strange revolution in the course of events, the Gauls themselves were constrained to seek in Ireland, and to gather from their old pupils, the sciences which they had lost. Agilbert was one of these Gauls, and when he went home in 664, he so greatly astonished the

Church of his native land with the wondrous extent of his imported knowledge, that he was made Bishop of Paris. The passage in which a British scholar of the seventh century celebrates the literary fame of Ireland is rather curious. "Whole fleets carry thither legions of British students; their eagerness knows no bounds," and so on for a page or more.\* Our readers must not suppose that this emphatic language is limited to writers of poetry and fiction. The more sober works of history are equally laudatory when speaking of the celebrated schools of Lismore, Hy, Bangor, Clonfert, Clonard, and especially Armagh, where there were no less than seven thousand pupils.

We know less of the Irish masters in their own country than of their efforts abroad. From the end of the sixth century to that of the ninth, England, Gaul, Germany, Italy, and even Spain, received the visits of many Irish missionaries. They were poets, literati, and monks strangely clad, who, blending religion with a kind of literary apostleship, disturbed the Church by imparting novel and subversive precepts. Although repulsed on almost all sides, after having been warmly welcomed, they may be said to have left traces even where they sojourned but a little while.

One of the most illustrious of these apostles was St. Columban, a pupil of the monastic college of Bangor. He first appeared at the court of Gontran toward the year 590, accompanied by twelve friars of his own nation. Gontran kindly granted them leave to settle in any part of his dominions. They then went in search of a solitary place; and, with that instinctive taste which the Irish generally have for wild scenery, they selected a secluded spot in the Vosges. There, in the midst of rocks and forests, rendered still more picturesque by the scattered vestiges of Roman civilization, they erected the monasteries of Annegray and Fontaines, and especially that of Luxeuil, which was destined not only to become the most important in Gaul, but, if we may judge from divers charters granted by popes and kings, the freest and the proudest of its

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\* "Catervatim istinc lectores classibus advecti conflunt, . . . . Hiberniæ rus discentium opulens vernansque pascuosa numerositate lectorum, quemadmodum poli cardines astriferis miscantium ornantur vibraminibus siderum."

franchises. Some time afterward, Columban was requested to visit the dissolute court of King Thierry, where in the presence of all he boldly reproved him for his vices and iniquities. Brunehaut, the bloody queen, to satisfy her rancor, cruelly persecuted him ; but he contrived to escape ; and some years later we find him, with St. Gall, Magnoald, and Theodore, all Irishmen, laboring against Paganism in Germany, and beyond the Alps, where he founded among the Lombards the monastery of Bobbio.

Usher and Augustin Thierry maintain that the old Irish monks led in regard to the Romish Church a very independent life, bordering on heresy. Other historians hold a contrary opinion. Be that as it may, it is unquestionable that on many points of religious doctrine they advocated tenets totally opposed to Roman Catholicism. When, in the ninth century, Louis the Benevolent was travelling through Brittany, he gave audience to several monks from Landevenech. They were so oddly clad and tonsured that the king could not repress his surprise. They stated that their monastic traditions came from the Scots in Ireland. Nothing could convince the Catholic King, who enjoined them to set aside the skins of wild beasts which they wore, and to renounce the rules, strongly tinctured with Paganism, which they followed.

We still possess the regulations prescribed by Columban. They seem to have been devised for an association, not of monks, but of philosophers ; free from ascetic practices, though advocating austere maxims, chiefly borrowed from the Bible and the Stoic philosophy. The subtleties and crafty devices of Roman discipline were never enforced by Columban or his disciples. We may even add, that concerning the celebration of Easter, and all the ceremonies of baptism, they held opinions which the Holy See always condemned. Far, however, from submitting to Papal censures, Columban boldly and nobly replied to the Bishop of Rome : "Your power will last only so long as your judgment shall remain correct."

The difference existing between the literary taste of the Irish and that of the Roman schools is still greater. In Rome, and in all countries where the Roman spirit had the ascendancy, Christians abominated even the slightest vestiges of

antiquity. When they searched for ancient manuscripts, it was to destroy or efface them, and to copy on the same vellum psalms or nonsensical legends. The Christian neophytes were ordered to eschew the very contact of profane poets. One of the most learned Popes the Church of Rome can boast, Gregory the Great, writes to a bishop: "My brother, I have learned that which I cannot repeat without pain or shame; — you have ventured to teach grammar. Learn how wrong, how horrible, *quam grave nefandumque*, it is for a bishop to treat of things which a layman himself should ignore." Now Columban not only taught grammar, but wrote profane poetry, earnestly recommended the reading of the old poets, and even quoted Juvenal in support of evangelical maxims. All the Irish scholars of the time professed the same love and admiration for the Greek and Latin classics. If we are imperfectly acquainted with St. Roding, the founder of Beaulieu, and St. Fursy, Abbot of Lagny, we still possess a score of Latin verses from St. Lewin, Bishop of Ireland, which breathe the true spirit of ancient poetry. Even in the sermon delivered by St. Gall when he declined the bishopric of Constance, we find reminiscences of profane literature. The erudition of these divines was so abundant, that their discourses teem with Hellenisms and technical terms. They seemed even to have taken no little pride in displaying their extensive knowledge. Thus Cummian, in his dissertation on Easter, calls Origen *Chalcenterus*, modestly adding, that beyond St. Gall, and perhaps Bobbio, both Hibernian colonies, the word is not likely to be understood. We possess many such evidences of their close acquaintance with the Greek language and literature.

In the eighth century we notice among the Irish scholars St. Virgil, Bishop of Salzburg, in Bavaria. King Pepin invited him to his court; and an historian of the time relates that the French monarch was so much pleased with the wondrous learning displayed by Virgil, that he kept him two years. He was indeed a genuine scholar, who endeavored to blend science with religion. Jealous, no doubt, of his well-merited popularity, Boniface, Bishop of Mentz, and Pope Zachary had him arraigned before a council, charged with the heinous crime of having affirmed, on the testimony of the old Greeks,



the existence of the antipodes. He was nevertheless canonized in 1233. With Virgil we should mention his friends and companions, St. Declan, St. Alto, and Dobdan, called "the Greek," Bishop of Chiemsee, in Bavaria, where he opened a public school, which was attended by "legions of scholars."

Colchus or Colchen the Wise, Cruindmelus, and Malrachandus, both skilful grammarians, seem to belong to that age. Colchus was the leading man in one of the great Irish schools. One day, while travelling on foot, he met a traveller who kindly offered to carry his heavy burden. That obliging companion was St. Peter himself. So says the Irish legend. We know nothing concerning the personal history of Cruindmelus and Malrachanus. The latter often quotes the old grammarians, and exhibits in his treatise a remarkable method by which Greek and Latin may be taught simultaneously. This partiality for the classics is so much the more singular, that the hatred of the Romanists for the old poets scarcely knew any bounds. St. Ouen literally calls them "scoundrels," and Odon de Cluny compares Virgil to a beautiful vase filled with horrid reptiles. The Irish, we are glad to see, entertained very different ideas of classical excellence.

At the end of the eighth century Charlemagne reigned over France, and Italy hailed him as the heir of the Cæsars. When at the height of his glory he undertook the restoration of belles-lettres. To use Alcuin's expression, "he aims at founding a new Athens." There was no lack of pupils, since the Emperor enrolled himself among them. But where was he to find masters? Italy sent him Paul Diacre and Peter of Pisa; Septimania, Theodulf; England, Alcuin; but the true scholars came from Ireland. Great changes, however, had taken place; Roman orthodoxy ruled on the Continent, without succeeding in extending its sway over Ireland. There Hellenism, the Alexandrian Hellenism, with its learned subtilties, bold dialectics, and enthusiastic love of freedom, held its own. It was destined to clash with Romanism in Charlemagne's palace.

One of the great monarch's historians, the Monk of St. Gall, has given us a very interesting account of the arrival of two Irishmen at the Austrasian court. The dusty travellers took

their stand in the market-place, displayed neither goods nor wares, but attracted public attention by the singularity of their attire. "If one desires to acquire science," they said, "let them come to us, we sell it." Karl sent for them, and, enamored of their knowledge and aptitude, intrusted numerous pupils to their care. Whether this anecdote is true or not, is a question of little moment, as it is certain that there were several Irishmen among the regents of the Palatine School, who always commanded respect and influence. The most celebrated among them was the grammarian Clement, surnamed "the Hibernian."

It was generally believed that none of Clement's works had been preserved; but M. Hauréau succeeded in discovering among the manuscripts in the Imperial Library his treatise on Grammar, which exhibits an extraordinary degree of erudition for the time. The author even quotes Homer in the original, and emphatically declares that the Greeks are, and ever will be, his masters. It appears that Clement's boldness and free-thinking made him many enemies at the court of Charlemagne. Theodulf and Alcuin do not spare him. Alcuin, born in Great Britain, and of Anglo-Saxon origin, was a pupil of the school of York, and, like all his countrymen, entertained bitter feelings toward the Scots. He had relinquished the palace school to take up his residence in the monastery of St. Martin of Tours, where the most distressing news came to disturb him in his retreat. The Emperor had been seduced by the brilliant erudition of the Irish, and their influence was fast spreading in the school. The thought preyed upon Alcuin's mind, and he wrote to Charlemagne: "When I departed, I left near your person Latins; Egyptians have now taken their places." This appellation of "Egyptians" is an ingenious one. The most learned city of Egypt was Alexandria; and the heresy of the Scots concerning Easter, their sophistry, pride, doctrines, method, and Hellenism, all sprung from Alexandrian traditions. The Irish after all deserved the name of Egyptians; for Egypt was their literary father-land. Hence the repeated efforts on the part of Alcuin, who represents the Latin cause, to have them expelled. The time had not yet come. The Scots were already suffering from Danish inva-

sions, which caused them to emigrate in great numbers ; and we see about that time crowds of Irish masters propagating everywhere on the Continent their science and their doctrines.

It is still a question whether Dichuill, a great astronomer, whose works have been published and commented upon only within the last fifty years, Claudius, whose valuable commentaries on nearly all of the books of the Holy Scriptures are yet in existence, and Gildas, the mathematician, ever left Ireland. But we find, belonging to the same period, Dungal, the grammarian, appointed to a chair at Pavia ; Killac, Abbot of Kildare, and Blathmac, the Bishop, sent to teach the Albanian Scots ; Indract and several Irish monks catechising in England ; Eusebius the anchoret and Erlulf the bishop teaching in Germany. But it was in Gaul that those learned pilgrims enjoyed the greatest latitude. Charlemagne protected them against Alcuin, so did Louis the Debonair ; and Charles the Bald invited them to a seat at his royal table. We can find no better proof of their numbers and ascendancy than in a certain passage from an author of the time, who says : “ Shall I speak of Ireland, which, despising the perils of the sea, has immigrated almost entire to our shores, with its flocks of philosophers ? ” Of all these we know of only three, Helie, Mannon, and Scotus Erigena.

We have not the names of the schools which received the benefit of Helie’s teachings, and only know that his success was very great. He died Bishop of Angoulême. Several commentaries on Plato’s “ Laws ” and “ Republic ” have been erroneously ascribed to Mannon, though his vast learning and reputation do not admit of a doubt. He died near Lyons in 880, leaving an extensive collection of books. There are still in the public libraries of France several manuscripts with these words inscribed on the fly-leaf : “ Presented by Mannon to the Monastery of St. Oyan.” Scholars do not relinquish the hope of discovering in the Irish libraries, as yet but little explored, some of Mannon’s long-lost works.

From Scotus Erigena we may ascertain the character and opinions of the Irish philosophers of the ninth century. John Scot knew Greek, not imperfectly, like Beda, Alcuin, Eric, and many other incipient Hellenists of the Latin school, who,

proud of a little knowledge gathered from the Irish, often betray in the same breath their errors and limited erudition, but as well as the most noted scholars of the sixteenth century. His translation of Dionysius the Areopagite, whose works gave the first impulse to the scholastic philosophy, is read to this day. He commented on Capella with surprising boldness, and often quotes Plato. Strange as it may seem, he is as much of a realist as Spinoza himself. As for his independence, it has never been surpassed. "There is no difference," says he, "between philosophy and religion. Authority proceeds from reason, whilst reason does not proceed from authority. Now every authority which has not the sanction of reason is worthless; whilst reason needs not the protection of any authority whatever." He adds: "I am not so much afraid of authority that I should hesitate to proclaim aloud all that my reason sees clearly and distinctly." When we consider the times, the boldness of such declarations is truly surprising; and despite the well-known originality and traditional insubordination of the Irish thinkers, the student of philosophy must search the works of the philosopher of Malmesbury, published several centuries later, to find anything to equal it.

These principles led Scotus to a formal denial of the Catholic theology and philosophy, which he did not hesitate to replace by the uncompromising pantheism of Proclus. If John Scot, as regent of the Palatine School, had limited himself to the discharge of his duties, without interfering directly with ecclesiastical matters, the Church would have suffered him to continue in peace the inculcation of doctrines which it was not capable of appreciating. But at the request of Charles the Bald he ventured to declare his opinions in a dogmatic controversy provoked by Gotschalk. The whole Romish Church rose immediately against the "impious Egyptian," and demanded that he should be severely punished. What were the consequences of this clerical tempest, no one can tell; but from that day Scotus Erigena disappeared from the stage, never to be seen or heard of again. With him Irish Hellenism was forever proscribed, Hibernian teachers were called "public pests," *hostes atroces*, and good Christians were enjoined to flee from them with horror and disgust. The Irish schools lost

from that time forward all their individuality and influence. Yielding to the supremacy of the Romish Church, they replaced Plato and Proclus by St. Augustine and St. Gregory. The most brilliant of all the Irish masters is evidently Scotus Eri-gena, who was also destined to be the last. Our sketch must end with him; for his school, which had shed so much glory over the Western world, loses its very name, and is merged forever into the Latin schools.

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ART. VI. — 1. *Neue Beiträge zu dem Geist in der Natur.*

VON HANS CHRISTIAN OERSTED.

2. *Hints towards the Formation of a more Comprehensive Theory of Life.* By S. T. COLERIDGE.

3. *Vital Dynamics; the Hunterian Oration.* By JOSEPH HENRY GREEN, F. R. S.

4. *Humanics.* By T. WHARTON COLLINS. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860.

5. *Glimpses of the Heaven that lies about us.* By T. E. POYNTING. London. 1860.

THE tendency of modern science is to the revelation of nature as pervaded by a principle of life which gives unity to the whole. The laws of nature are seen to be, not generalizations of separate phenomena, but expressions of a creative idea. The order and wisdom of the universe are not abstract terms, but embodied facts in every province and part thereof. Life itself is not the result of organization in any sphere, but precedes the organization, and determines what it shall be. Thus Oersted writes: —

“However much objects may differ from one another, still a deeper investigation discerns a common nature in them all. We find the same law of organization in the whole animal kingdom, in spite of the greatest and most varied difference in their external form and internal structure. We meet again with this same unity in the vegetable kingdom, where a fundamental investigation of some few organizations is sufficient to give a deep insight into its nature. In a further investigation, we find